

those who are out of work even more. It would mean higher interest rates on cars, on home loans, on credit cards, on student loans. It would mean fewer jobs and less growth.

Instability, uncertainty, creates a downdraft on the recovery. Congress should be focusing on economic recovery and creating jobs if we want to close that deficit gap. You balance budgets by full employment economies. We surpassed the debt limit over 2 months ago, and come August 2, the Treasury will simply not be able to pay all the bills that are currently due.

Yes, it's long overdue to reach a compromise. Instead, Speaker BOEHNER has walked away from the negotiating table and has chosen to roll out a hasty bill that hasn't gone through the normal committee process. Apparently, many in his own party reject it. This isn't leadership for America at a time when she needs it. It may be capitulation to Grover Norquist and his lobby, but our responsibility is far greater.

Mr. Speaker, the way that you balance budgets is to put people to work and grow the economy. I support a balanced, bipartisan solution to reduce our deficit, create jobs and grow our economy, to expand our middle class and protect Medicare, Social Security and Medicaid beneficiaries. The solution to deficits is robust job growth and full economic recovery. Let's spend two months putting that initiative forward!

THE AMERICAN DEBT LIMIT HELD HOSTAGE—AN UNNECESSARY CRISIS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. OLVER) for 5 minutes.

Mr. OLVER. Mr. Speaker, today we face an unnecessary crisis. The debt limit has never before been held hostage by any political party, because it is in every American's best interest to protect the credit of the United States; but now ideologues in Congress have hijacked this issue, and have pushed our Nation to the brink of default in rejecting all offers of compromise.

Calls for massive spending cuts, and spending cuts alone, without raising any revenues whatsoever are irresponsible at least and deliberately destructive at worst. They would default on our debt, causing a global financial crisis, rather than see hedge fund managers, corporate jet owners or phenomenally profitable oil companies pay higher taxes. Their call for fiscal responsibility rings hollow, and the fiscal history of the last three decades shows that.

This chart shows the growth of America's national debt since 1980.

At the end of the Carter administration, the national debt was less than \$1 trillion. Twelve years later, with President Reagan's 8 years and the first President Bush's 4 years, the national debt had grown by more than 300 per-

cent—it had quadrupled—and we were mired in debt. The Reagan-Bush economic policies greatly increased the debt and led to soaring deficits and rising interest rates. It ended in a recession.

In 1993, President Clinton was under severe pressure from the very Republicans who had meekly followed the two Republican Presidents as they raised the national debt by over 300 percent. President Clinton championed a balanced austerity program with, roughly, equal spending cuts and revenue increases—the Clinton years. Republicans in both the House and Senate voted unanimously against that program, arguing it would cost jobs and cause a recession, but the exact opposite occurred. More than 20 million jobs were created under the Clinton administration, and each of the last three budgets of the Clinton Presidency produced a surplus. Those three budgets were the only budgets and surplus in the last 40 years, and Clinton's balanced program is considered highly successful by economists. President Clinton raised taxes on those who could afford it and reduced spending to shrink our deficit, and the economy grew by leaps and bounds.

The fiscal record of the second President Bush is a record of utter irresponsibility. It began with massive tax cuts, skewed sharply toward the wealthy, and with trillions of dollars spent on two long, unpopular wars—all of that paid for by borrowing. It ended in the Great Recession, caused by the collapse of an unregulated housing market which was fueled by Wall Street greed. President Bush turned President Clinton's surplus into more than 5 trillion additional dollars added to our national debt—all the way up to here—almost doubling the debt again.

President Obama was inaugurated during the worst month of job losses in the Great Recession and cannot be blamed for what happened before, but the recovery has stalled, and we're short 12 million jobs.

History has shown us what works and what doesn't. The Reagan-Bush economics led to hugely increased debt. The Clinton economics eliminated the deficit and accelerated economic growth, but it required some sacrifice by all Americans to fix the national problem.

Now Republicans want to slash social programs, gut Medicare and Social Security benefits, and further reduce taxes for the wealthiest few. The Republicans threaten default on our debt. The only plan they offer would add hundreds of thousands of people to the unemployment lines by eliminating jobs in the public sector. They would protect the wealthiest few at the expense of the entire country. They offer no plan to create jobs and no long-term solution. Yet America needs a long-term solution, and that must include spending reduction and revenue increase in balanced proportion.

□ 1140

DEBT CEILING HOSTAGE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER) for 5 minutes.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, the elaborate Kabuki dance continues here on Capitol Hill surrounding the angst about increasing the debt ceiling. I think what we are seeing can be summarized in three words: "recklessness," "abuse," and "hypocrisy."

First of all, it is reckless for my Republican friends to hold the debt ceiling discussions hostage in an attempt to achieve other political goals. There have already been significant costs. American currency has weakened. We've watched a slide of the stock market since last Friday when the agreement blew up as Speaker BOEHNER walked away from his work with President Obama. We've watched premiums being paid now to ensure United States debt. People are making adjustments that are having consequences right now and eroding the confidence that we have had globally in the strength of American commitments to pay its debt—a confidence that has resulted in record low-interest rates that have benefited everybody in the United States, and that is at risk.

The irony is that there is no reason for this to occur. We have increased the debt ceiling 102 times since this unusual little law was enacted in 1917. The United States, you recall, is one of only two countries in the entire world that goes through this charade of having to vote to finance spending that we've already done.

It has always been routine. We did this routinely for President Bush. The irony is now when we are facing another adjustment in the debt ceiling, ironically most of the debt, \$9.5 billion, was incurred as a direct result of the policies of the two Presidents Bush and Ronald Reagan. There is a great little chart on page A-14 in today's New York Times that outlines this.

Instead of making it routine and making whatever pontification people will do on the floor of the House, which they have done since 1917, now all of a sudden we have thrown a monkey wrench into the process. We've raised the specter of default. We're having people speculate whether there's enough money to go to August 2 or August 5. We're speculating about what debts, what bills the President will pay.

The irony is that this Republican recklessness is actually empowering the President of the United States to make decisions about whether to pay Chinese creditors or honor our obligations to senior citizens or people who do business with the United States.

Absolutely outrageous.

Wouldn't you think Congress would like to make these decisions rather than punting to the President? Well, no. In fact, the Republicans are more

than willing to punt to the President the decision about lifting the debt ceiling, even though the law that we have puts that responsibility on Congress. It's reckless and it's unnecessary.

Second, there is an abuse of power. You know, the American public overwhelmingly wants a balanced solution with a little bit of revenue increase, maybe taking some unjustified tax loopholes, not slashing budgets unilaterally. They want a balanced approach. But my Republican friends, having taken control of one Chamber, now think that they ought to be able to dictate to the other body, dictate to the President of the United States, have it their way or the highway. It's not what the American public wants. It's not what should happen in our system of democracy, where there should be some give-and-take and some compromise.

But no, what we're seeing is an unfortunate abuse of power on the part of some people who are willing to take hostage the debt ceiling negotiation and risk economic damage to the United States, to our families, and businesses.

And third, it is a case of hypocrisy. You know, the Republican plan, the so-called Cut, Cap, and Balance—and they passed it last week on the floor of the House—would require cutting spending for the government to 18 percent of the overall economy. Interesting number. Ronald Reagan never even proposed a budget that was less than 21 percent.

They're talking about draconian cuts to things that the American public relies upon—everything from food safety to infrastructure to education. But when the time came to vote for it, this week, they voted "no" on an amendment that would have implemented that type of cut.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Oregon has expired.

TRADE AGREEMENTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Kansas (Ms. JENKINS) for 5 minutes.

Ms. JENKINS. Where is the President's plan?

If I had a nickel for every time I have heard that question, we would be much closer to resolving our debt crisis. But the President and my friends across the aisle have still not answered the most important question of all: Where is their plan for job creation?

House Republicans have a plan. At the core of this plan is passing the three pending trade agreements. These trade agreements have the ability to immediately create thousands of jobs, open new markets for our farmers, ranchers, and manufacturers, and to play a pivotal role in growing our economy. Yet, the President continues to stand in the way.

These agreements create jobs, period. So let's pass these agreements with South Korea, Colombia, and Panama. Let's reauthorize the GSP and the An-

dean Trade Preference Act and finally fulfill our duty to the American people.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until noon today.

Accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 47 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess until noon.

□ 1200

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. DOLD) at noon.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, offered the following prayer:

We give You thanks, O God, for giving us another day. We give You thanks for all people who, through courage and selfless devotion, have carried the banner of righteousness before us and have pointed the way to the high ideals of human dignity that are the handiwork of Your creation. These are our American ancestors.

Bless now the men and women of the people's House. Call forth leaders from their number who understand that courage, exercised in the fulfillment of their legislative responsibilities, might cost them popularity now but reap them praise in the future from our American descendants. May they take solace in knowing that it has always been this way with great leaders.

We thank You for their hard work. Give them the consolation of knowing they will have done their best work for all of our Nation.

May all that is done this day be for Your greater honor and glory.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. LAMBORN) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. LAMBORN led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will entertain up to 15 requests

for 1-minute speeches on each side of the aisle.

SUSTAINING NUCLEAR DETERRENCE AFTER NEW START

(Mr. LAMBORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. LAMBORN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss a critical component of America's national security, our nuclear deterrence. Yesterday, the House Armed Services Committee Strategic Forces Subcommittee held a hearing on sustaining nuclear deterrence after New START. This hearing made it absolutely clear that the nuclear policy provisions in the House fiscal year 2012 National Defense Authorization Act are critical to our nuclear deterrence strategy.

The ink was barely dry on the New START Treaty, and the administration was already talking about deeper cuts. We need to slow down and wait for nuclear modernization to catch up to arms control. We must be wary of any further unilateral reductions of the U.S. nuclear deterrent, which is critical to America's defense and that of over 30 of our allies. Congress has an obligation to scrutinize U.S. nuclear policy and force structure to ensure that we have a sustainable and effective deterrent, which is why the House NDAA nuclear policy provisions must become law.

WE DON'T DEFAULT

(Mr. KUCINICH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. KUCINICH. Here's what we should do to avoid default: increase the debt ceiling with no strings attached. Here's how to get out of debt: end the wars, save \$1 trillion in 10 years; repeal tax cuts to the wealthy, save another \$1 trillion; Medicare for all, end the \$400 billion yearly subsidies for the health insurance industry; renegotiate trade agreements with workers' rights, human rights, and environmental quality principles to save millions of jobs and billions of dollars.

The Fed creates money out of nothing and gives it to banks. Why should our country go into debt, borrowing money from banks when we have the constitutional power to create money and invest in jobs? We could have another New Deal, putting millions to work, rebuilding America's roads and transportation system. We could have a Works Green Administration where NASA is the incubator of jobs, designing and engineering wind and solar microtechnologies for private sector manufacturing, distribution, installation, and maintenance in millions of homes, saving money and energy and protecting the environment.

We are the United States of America, the greatest country on Earth. We envision wealth; we don't default. We create wealth; we don't default. We build wealth; we don't default.